"However, certain magical or animistic ideas seem to be associated with the very material used for the making of them. [JKM: pottery] When I asked the Jibaros why only women make pottery, I received the answer, 'The clay is obtained from the earth and the earth is a woman; hence the women have to make clay vessels.' It is interesting to note on this point that 'clay' in the Jibaro language is nui and 'earth' nunga, from which word also the name of the Earth-mother Nungüi is derived. 'Woman' again, is nua. There can be little doubt that all these words are derived from the same root, a fact that the Jibaro women themselves seem to be aware of. When further we consider that, as we shall presently see, the ornamental designs painted on some clay vessels, have obviously a magical significance, we realize that a whole primitive 'philosophy' is connected with the making of these important utensils."

I: Karsten--175 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177, 789 (1928-29)

"Most Indian tribes in Eastern Ecuador nowadays practise angling, using hooks received from the whites. Before the iron hooks were introduced, crooked bones were used for this purpose. Pieces of flesh and certain seeds serve as baits when angling. When the Indian throws out the line he whistles a chant in order to attract the fish."

"On the following fourth day of the feast, tobacco juice is still taken in the same way as on the previous day. The three women are sitting on their seats before the priestess, who recites to them the words and leads the songs, giving them now and then tobacco juice. The melody to which the songs are sung is at first the one which we have already learned to know in connection with the incantations to Nungüi and her 'husband', as above (p.135).

Having sung various songs to this melody, the women suddenly change and start to sing to a different melody. Their manner of uttering the words may be said to be a sort of singing speech rather than a song proper. Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamármа.

our manioc plantation is still young.
inchikutú yamárma.
our camote field is young.
nuasikutú yamárma.
our sowing of earth-nuts is young.
nu pingera tsapaitai.
make it nicely grow.
yurúmga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Nihe'manda atáshi,
Fill their crops'! [202]

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kantámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,
Yeita másanatimi,
káshiki piútnungmateiti,
káyúka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,

the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!'

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

'You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs[203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine of the tiger and get crooked legs!' (1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals.

In the afternoon the bride and the other women are ceremonially dressed by the priestess and are made to break their fast. These ceremonies too are performed with the greatest care since it is considered to be very risky for the young woman, who has

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"1. This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jibaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

so long been in a state of uncleanness and observed a most rigorous diet, to wear the usual dress and ornaments and to eat the food eaten by ordinary people.

Upon a big banana leaf various things are placed by the priestess: a small pot with black genipa painting (sua), all ornaments generally worn by a woman, a collar of beads (shauka), the lip-tube (tukúnu), a cotton band to be tied round the head (tiringsa), a comb (timashi), as well as a pair of scissors (formerly a sharp snail's shell) for cutting the hair. The priestess combs the hair of the bride and of the other women and thereupon cuts a little hair from the forehead of each of them. One of the women performs the same service for the priestess, cutting a little of the hair of her head. All these tufts of hair are placed on the banana leaf at the side of the ornaments. Now the fiancé starts to comb the bride and thereupon cuts a little more of her hair, at the forehead and the temples, and even behind. Similarly the two other women are combed by their husbands and have a little of their hair cut, these tufts of hair too being placed on the banana leaf.

Next follows the painting with genipa (sua). The priestess pours a little of the black juice from the gourd on the flat of her hand and sprinkles a little of it with her fingers on the face of the bride and of the two other women. The women in their turn do the same service for the priestess. Then the latter, dipping her finger in the genipa solution, draws a broad stroke along the right arm of the bride and two vertical strokes on

her breast. The bride does the same to the priestess.

Now the women have to break their fast and to be dressed. Two clay dishes (pininga) are brought; the one contains some boiled and masticated manioc as well as some pieces of boiled plantain, the other only pure water. The priestess makes each woman drink from the pininga with water, passing it twice to each of them. Then she gives a piece of plantain dipped in the masticated manioc substance to all three of the women, [204] whereupon she takes all the ornaments and makes a show of putting them on the women. She however immediately lays them down again on the banana leaf. Then the bride takes these ornaments and puts them on herself without any help from the priestess. Before the young woman puts an ornament on herself she first raises each of them to her mouth.

These ceremonies having been performed, the common meal has to take place in connection with which the fasting women too are allowed to definitely break their fast. Several pots (ichingána) filled with the meat of the swine slaughtered during the night have been placed close to one of the central pillars of the house, as well as other big clay pots containing boiled manioc, plantain, and palm cabbage (ihu). A great number of piningas, filled with meat and the boiled vegetables, are placed in two long rows and thereafter served to the guests. The young bride gives to the priestess a leg of one of the swine slaughtered as well as a liver which, according to an old custom observed at

the great feasts, are ceremonially presented to her.

After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other

women. [205]

Now the women are ready to eat. A small pot with pork and boiled manioc leaves (námaha) is brought, and upon a banana leaf some boiled manioc, plantain, palm cabbage (ihu) as well as some Indian pepper have been placed. The priestess gives the bride some manioc, a little pork, and some Indian pepper. The same is given to the second and the third woman. Besides this they have some manioc-beer (nihamánchi). A pininga filled with beer is brought, covered with a big kachini leaf. A tobacco leaf which is rolled up into a cigar is handed over to the priestess who lights it and blows the smoke upon the pininga containing the manioc-beer. Thereafter she offers it to the three women who drink a little of it. Now the three women may freely eat all kinds of food.

In the evening the usual dances are again performed but they are only continued till about midnight. Earlier in the evening, during an interval, the distilled manioc-wine, referred to above, is also definitely made ready. On the bottom of the clay pot where the roasted and masticated manioc roots have been placed on the first day of the feast a dark-brown essence is seen, which is the wine. The priestess pours it into a new clay vessel which is carefully kept in a special place until the following day.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, after the guests have eaten, they make preparations to leave. A special farewell ceremony still remains to be performed: the drinking

of the manioc-wine just mentioned. The young bride stands in the middle of the house holding a pininga, filled with manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), as well as a small gourd in the hand. Her fiancé takes one after the other of the guests to the young woman and makes him take a draught from the small gourd which she offers to him, whereupon he returns to his seat. As usual, the oldest men have to drink first, the younger ones coming later in due order. But only the oldest men really drink anything from the gourd; the younger ones certainly step up to the bride, but only make a show of drinking, returning thereafter to their places. Lastly even the women step forward, but do not drink in reality. This is characteristic of the manioc-wine drinking at all great feasts. What is left of the wine is kept by the mother of the bride.

The guests take leave of their hosts in the usual ceremonial way. Each man has to deliver a small speech in which he expresses his satisfaction with the cordial reception and entertainment, the nice arrangements, and the pleasant time spent together with the hostesses. Thereafter the men depart, followed by the women."

1: Karsten--266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
789 (1928-29)

"The shield of the Jibaro Indians is not only a weapon of defence, but also a religious instrument, a fact that everybody who takes part in their victory-feasts is able to establish. The tandára is full of magic power, and when is [sic] is beaten with the lance in a particular way, this is in fact a sort of religious or magical ceremony which is believed to inspire the spirits--first of all the spirit of the slain enemy--with fear. The ceremony referred to is called Yáktinyu."

l: Karsten--287
116, 726, 789, 462, 535

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayam-bruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

1: Karsten--288-289 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 714, 789 (1928-29)

"In regard to the arrangement of the dress for war there are three objects which are kept in view. Partly, the Indian tries to make his whole appearance as terrifying as possible in order to impress the enemies; partly, certain pieces of clothing and ornaments which he puts on are, owing to some mysterious inherent properties, supposed to give him strength and courage; lastly, some of them will serve as marks of recognition, by which the warriors will be able to distinguish friends from enemies in the battle. The black body painting, for instance, serves all these three aims. More than anything else, it helps to give the Indian warrior a savage and terrible appearance. The Jibaros say that for a combat they paint themselves black in order to resemble the iguanchi (demons), which implies that the body-painting is believed to impart to them something of the savage ferocity and strength of these supernatural beings. Besides, even in semi-darkness it is possible to distinguish the black-painted Indian from one who does not wear that mark of recognition. The strips of bast tied around the pigtails likewise, as already indicated, partly enable the warriors to recognize their comrades in the battle, [289] partly are supposed to eke out that natural power which the Indian always ascribes to his hair and his pigtails. To impart strength and valour to the warrior is also the object of the ear-tubes, the necklaces of jaguar's teeth, and the belt of the boa serpent. 'Wearing our ear-tubes (arúsa), we do not fear anything,' the Jibaros are in the habit of saying. The teeth of the jaguar and the belt of the boa skin

naturally give the wearer something of the demoniac strength of these animals. Again, the power which the Jibaros attribute to the cincture made of human hair is due to the supernatural properties ascribed to the hair, which is regarded as the seat of the soul or the vital energy."

1: Karsten--331-333 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 789 (1928-29)

"After the slayer has, in the way described, assisted in the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine, his role with regard to the preparations for the feast is finished. The following days and nights he has to spend outside his own house, making on the third day, when the feast commences, his solemn entrance into the same. The first two of the three nights he thus stays outside he passes in another house a few [332]doors away from his own; the third night, again, in a shelter made at a short distance from the house of the feast. The priest (whuéa), who always must remain in the neighbourhood of the slayer and take care of him, accompanies him on this excursion.

All the three nights that the slayer is absent his friends in the house of the feast, and particularly the young men, perform the dance Wuimchi in the same way as on the first night, from the fall of night until the dawn.

On the afternoon of the day previous to the commencement of the feast, when the slayer has been absent for two nights, the following ceremony takes place in a shelter made a short distance from the house of the feast. Some of the older Indians take the trophy which, as usual, is kept hanging over the fire, place it upon a shield and carry it to the shelter mentioned. In this shelter the slayer and the priest now stay, and they will also pass the following third and last night there. Outside it a fire is made. A chonta staff is fixed in the ground close by the fire. The priest gives the slayer tobacco

juice through the nose, then grasps his hand and makes him hang the tsantsa on the top of the chonta staff. With the aid of the priest, he places three small round stones, provided for the purpose, upon the fire to be heated. When they are sufficiently hot, the slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes up one of them by means of a stick cleft at the end, and drops it into the head through the opening at the neck, holding the trophy with the left hand. The small stone is allowed to roll to and fro in the head for a moment; then the slayer takes it out and puts it back on the fire. The priest again gives him tobacco juice, whereupon the same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third one. Every time that the slayer puts a stone into the head the priest is holding his hand, and each stone, after being used in the way described, is again put on the fire, where the stones are ultimately left. The trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta staff. The priest grasps the slayer by the wrist and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa with his hand, at the same time saying: Kakáruma, pangi ishamakaipa, --'Have courage; do not fear the great serpent'. The trophy is subsequently taken back to the house by the other men, but the slayer and the priest remain in the shelter.

As we find, the same ceremony is repeated here as was earlier performed with the trophy previous to beginning the work of preparing it. The procedure with the small heated stones seems to be merely to [333] mortify the soul of the enemy, attached to the

head, to protect the slayer against the revengeful ghost, and favourably to prepare for the important incident which will take place on the following day--the entrance of the victor into the house of the feast.

That the object of the ceremony described is essentially to paralyze the danger threatening the slayer from the dead enemy, may also be concluded from the last words addressed to him by the priest in which he is warned not to fear the 'great serpent.' The great boa serpent (pangi) is the most formidable of all demons who people the spiritual world of the Jibaros. He is the original father of witchcraft; it is from his body that the sorcerers receive the poison with which their organism is impregnated and the invisible arrow (túnchi), which they discharge at their victims. After death the souls of the medicine-men are also believed to enter into the boa. The Jibaros, like all Indians, therefore particularly fear this monster, and when they kill a boa they think that they kill a powerful sorcerer. From the above statement it appears that the giant serpent also is one of those shapes in which the spirit of the killed enemy is believed to meet the slayer."

1: Karsten--423 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 789 (1928-29)

"The religious practices of the Jibaros are so manifold and in part of so peculiar a character that it is almost impossible to bring them under any commonly recognized categories. Thus there is no rite which can be termed 'sacrifice', except the food offered to the dead, and the 'prayers' addressed to the Earth-mother Nugüi are also peculiar, having poetical form and being always sung. All other practices are in their character magical and of these, too, different categories can be distinguished. The worshipper's aim may be, for instance, to ward off the spirits, or to obtain their favour and enter into alliance with them. There are also magical practices which have no reference to personal spirits at all."

"The most important of the religious instruments of the Jibaros is the big drum tundúi. We have already seen how this drum is used and the interesting religious ideas that are connected with it. The curious association of ideas which has induced the Jibaros to propitiate the 'demon of the mountain' with the instrument which is supposed to be an imitation of his visible representative, the great serpent, pangi, makes us understand that we are dealing with an old and genuinely Indian religious custom. The same can hardly be said about the other and smaller drum, called uchichi tambora by the Jibaros, which no doubt [424] is of European origin. The latter have obtained this drum from their more civilized tribesmen the Canelos Indians, who have developed the making of such drums into a whole industry. The drum is made with great skill and has skin at both ends, the one skin being obtained from a common night monkey, the other from the small capuchin monkey. Only one stick is used. The Canelos Indians use the drum at their drinking-feasts, marriage feasts, etc., two or three Indians constantly wandering about in the middle of the house accompanying with their drums the pairs who appear dancing. The Indians believe that by drumming and dancing they can, among other things, keep off evil spirits, but it is evident that among these half-civilized Indians such ceremonies are more and more losing their religious and magical significance and degenerating into mere amusements. The Jibaros too use the small

drum, accompanying the solo dances with it at their great feasts, the 'music' having the same significance as among the Canelos Indians.

The same may be said of the flutes, at any rate of those known under the name of piuma and pingúi. Both are made of a piece of cane, but the former, the piuma, is larger and has five holes, whereas the smaller has only two. They are used at the great feasts and add to the general din and noise. Their religious significance clearly appears, for instance, from a custom like that mentioned above (p. 226) with reference to the Achuares of the Pastaza. When a newborn child is taken into the house for the first time, the oldest man in the family walks round with the little one accompanied by the other men beating drums and playing on flutes, a ceremony which professedly has for its object to frighten away the evil spirits who are threatening the child. A third flute is by the Jibaros called tungúi and is made of the leg bone of the jaguar. This flute is played, among other things, when the inhabitants of a house, attacked by an enemy, are trying to escape from it into the forest. The flute-playing is accompanied by dancing and is believed to 'tire out the enemy' (p. 290). A flute made of the jaguar's bone is believed to have a special magical power."

"Rites for magically influencing nature.

Under this category fall a great number of the rites and ceremonies which are performed at the great feasts and the aim of which seems to be to exert a mysterious influence upon nature itself, apparently without the intervention of any personal spiritual agents. The five great feasts of the Jibaros, as has appeared from my previous statements, are the 'feast of the children' (Uchiáuka), the 'feast of the young men (Kusúpani), the 'feast of the women' (Noa tsangu), the 'victory-feast' (Einsupani), and the 'feast of the dogs' (Yawápani). The particular idea which I wish to point out here appears very clearly in all these feasts, except the 'feast of the children', the principal object of which seems to be to impart strength to the young child. On the other hand, in the Kusúpani feast the object of the tobacco smoking ceremonies is not only to give the young man power of resisting evil spirits; besides this, there is the idea that the power of the tobacco--more strictly speaking, the power of the tobacco spirit--will be directly transferred to those departments of nature within which a full-grown man is active. This idea appears still more clearly with reference to the 'tobacco feast' and the great victory-feast: fertility of the fields and a rich harvest, the increase of the domestic animals, abundance of game, success in warfare, hunting, fishing and all domestic work will be the immediate consequence of these feasts if the rites prescribed by custom are performed in the right way. Similarly in the Yawápani feast the power inherent

in the [430] kungúna plant and other 'medicines' will, both through the dog and through his master, be automatically reflected upon the corresponding department of nature, giving as a result an abundance of game and luck in hunting.

It is difficult exactly to make out the primitive Indian view upon which all these rites are based. The only thing that can be said is that they assume an essential similarity or a mysterious connection between man and inanimate nature, which in its turn is based on the belief that in both, at bottom, the same spiritual life is active and therefore can be transferred from the human world to natural objects."

1: Karsten--430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"From my previous statements it has appeared the Jibaros have a good many religious practices which have for their object to ward off the evil spirits, the iguánchi and wakani, to frighten them away and intimidate them. Thus they try to expel the demons which cause thunder and lightning, and who are regarded as the spirits of their dead enemies, by brandishing their lances aganst [sic] the sky and challenging them.(1) The great victory-feast is full of such rites. The spirit of the slain enemy who is trying to harm the victor in every way is kept at bay by the beating of shields (the ceremony Yáktinyu), by firing into the air, by shouting and yelling, by beating drums and playing on flutes and, last but not least, by dancing. The dance Hantsemáta especially is interesting on this point since it is a typical conjuration, its great aim being to mortify the soul of the killed enemy and to control it. But the other Jibaro dances too are all of a ceremonial character, although there are different ideas underlying them."

"1. See supra, p. 381."

1: Karsten--430-431 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789 (1928-29)

"There is no clear line of demarcation between good and evil spirits. Most of the iguanchi are certainly conceived of as evil or malignant, but a man who knows how to deal with them and to influence them in the right way--in the first place, of course, the medicine-man--may not only be able to resist and vanquish them, but even to make them his 'friends' and allies. We frequently meet this idea in the practical religion [431] of the Jibaros. Thus one of the most startling ideas underlying the great victory-feast was that the soul (wakáni) of the slain enemy, embodied in the tsantsa, in spite of his malignity and hatred of the victor, is through the ceremonies of the feast changed into a sort of guardian spirit who is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at the victor's disposal, gives him instructions and advice as to the domestic work, agriculture, etc. (p. 315). However, the medicine-men and sorcerers especially illustrate the way in which man may make the demons his allies and cooperate with them. Not only is the tunchi or tsinsáka the embodiment of a demoniacal being who executes the orders of the wizard when he wants to harm his enemies; besides this he may directly cooperate with the demons called iguánchi to be surer of success (p. 411). In the next chapter I shall again find an opportunity to refer to these practices. They imply that the medicine-man tries to summon and favourably influence the spirits by imitating them in their outward appearance and by playing the sort of string instrument which is called turúmba in Quichua and tsayandúru in the Jibaro language. The latter

is a simple bow of a special kind of wood with a cord of twisted chambira fibres. The Indian, when playing, touches the string with his mouth at one end of the bow, holding it in a horizontal position, and when twanging the string, is able to produce different tunes with it by certain movements of his lips. The tunes are very soft and perceptible only at a short distance, but are nevertheless believed to exert a mysterious influence upon the spirits whom the sorcerer addresses in playing the instrument.

In the same way as the Indians believe that they can summon the spirits and make them their friends by playing the 'musical bow', they believe that mysterious influence can be exerted upon them by beating the big drum tundúi. The condition in both cases, however, is that the Indian must be intoxicated by natéma or some other narcotic, for otherwise the demons will hardly appear. In dealing with the big 'signal' drum (p. 110 sq.) I have indicated the different ways in which the drum must be beaten on different occasions for the purpose of summoning the spirits. These occasions are the chonta feast and the natéma feast. The former will soon be described with some more details. The natéma feast again cannot be properly understood unless we know the many interesting ideas which are associated with the drinking of narcotic drinks in general."

1: Karsten--452-453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros know both how to make rain and to stop rain by magical means. There is a kind of plant, called piripiri by the Jibaros, which is used for different magical purposes. Under this name, however, they seem to include various different species. Two of them, those which are called yúmi piripiri ('the rain p.') and esáta piripiri ('the dry weather p.') are used for making rain or, on the contrary, for making drought. Both are plants with long narrow leaves, but those of the 'dry weather piripiri' are shorter. In both cases the round roots of the plants are used. In a region like Eastern Ecuador and Peru, where it rains almost continually, there is seldom any real reason for the Indians to produce rain by artificial means; drought there is a very rare thing. When the Indians try to produce rain by magical means they nearly always do so merely out of wickedness, that is, to cause their fellow tribesmen harm or annoyance, especially when they are travelling on the river. When in 1917 I came from my long river expedition down to the Achuares on the middle Pastaza, I was surprised by heavy rains which lasted for weeks, caused the Bobonaza to swell, and made the ascension of the river extremely trying for my Indian crew. When at last we approached Canelos, one of my Indians said that he would make the rains to continue 'so that other travellers would have the same difficulties as we had had'. He procured a specimen of the yúmi piripiri, chewed the root in the mouth, jumped into the river, and took the mouth full of water, whereupon he blew the chewed root and the water against the sky with so

much force as he could, assuring that the rains would soon begin again. [453] It had been fine weather that day, but the following day the rain again fell in torrents.

To make dry weather with the esáta piripiri the Jibaros likewise use the root, but in a somewhat different way than in the former case: it is burnt in the fire. The plant with the root fixed to it is given to a small child, who holds the root in the fire until it is consumed. A full-grown man or woman cannot do it. 'We full-grown people', an Indian explained to me, 'drink so much manioc-beer that our stomach is always full of water; we cannot therefore make dry weather in the way mentioned, but a child who drinks no manioc-beer has to do it.'

The leaves of the indéshi piripiri ('hair p.') are extremely long and narrow like human hairs. It is used to promote the growth of the hair. The root is again used: it is mashed and soaked in water, and the hair is washed in the solution, with the effect that it will grow 'long as the piripiri grass'.

The noa piripiri ('women's p.') is used in the same way as the simaika for the purpose of gaining the love of women, and has been mentioned before (p. 215).

Similarly the napi piripiri (snake's p.') has been mentioned before in connection with the curing of snake bite (p. 423)."

1: Karsten--453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 827, 484 (1928-29)

"When the Indians are travelling they always take with them some bundles of fermented manioc substance wrapped up in banana leaves, so that they can prepare the beer on the way whenever they find water. When they dilute a certain quantity of the manioc substance in the water, they never afterwards throw away the waste of manioc substance left, but they wrap it up again in the empty banana leaf and put a stone on the bundle, leaving it in this way at the resting-place. Then the manioc-beer which they have drunk will remain 'steady' in the stomach, and they will not soon get hungry again. This is the idea of both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--453-454 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 481, 789, 827 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros, when they are about to cross a broad river swimming, are in the habit of swallowing a fish-sound before they enter the water. In this way, they believe, they will be able to float on the water and swim as easily as a fish.

Similarly they take care, before entering the water to swim, to tie up the prepuce of their penis and to fix it to the stomach by means of a [454] cord which they always carry with them for the purpose.(1) If the water comes in contact with the glans, it is believed, it will impede erection at the right time and render coitus difficult."

"1. See the naked Indian on Plate XXIII, 1."

"The idea that the spirits can be controlled by imitating them in their external appearance, is also conspicuous in the ornamental designs applied to the body and to certain objects, for instance the doors of the houses, shields, and clay vessels. All these designs are borrowed from the animal world, and it is interesting to note that they invariably represent dangerous animals, or animals in which evil spirits are thought to appear. How the Indians try to keep off the spirits of the departed or other spirits from their houses by painting their figures on the door, has been shown before (Pl. XVII, 2 and p. 454). The figures appearing on the door are characteristic of the ornamental art of the Jibaros. The most conspicuous of them are human spirits, represented in the usual way with the arms stretched out. The small circles, with [491]a point in the middle are also very common. It took me long to find out the real significance of this pattern, even after I had been informed that it was thought to keep off evil spirits. On inquiry, I was simply told that the small circles represented yusa. By the name yusa the Indians denote the big macaw (Arara hyacinthinus) which is one of their principal bird demons, but there is little resemblance between such a little circle and the beautiful parrot. We get the solution of the riddle when we look at the Indian drawing of a macaw found on Fig. 20, b (p. 494). The Indians paint the eyes of the bird separately, and the small circles are precisely identical with the eyes of the macaw. To the Indian mind special importance is attached to them, because in the eyes the

power of the demoniacal bird is concentrated. Hence the eyes occur as independent magical ornaments in the art of the Indians.

The circle pattern, however, occurs in two forms and has two significations: it not only represents the eye of the macaw but also the round black spots on the skin of the anaconda. Frequently the pattern occurs as two concentric circles with a black spot in the middle (Fig. 20, c). The eyes of the macaw in fact are surrounded by concentric rings; but the pattern may represent the spots of the anaconda as well. What these spots are like in reality, and how faithfully the Indians represent them in their art, will be clear when we compare the cincture made of an anaconda's skin on Pl. XXI, 3 with the patterns engraved on the instrument payánga, depicted on p. 311. Generally the Indians are, in each particular case, able to explain whether the pattern in question represents the magical bird or the huge reptile. As to the patterns engraved on the payánga, for instance, they expressly declared that they represent the spots of the anaconda (pangi), which they also apply to the face, to shields when they are ornamented, and so forth."

l: Karsten--492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"That the Indians represent the most dreaded animal demons in their ornamental art, applying their figures even to eating and drinking vessels, is a significant fact which suggests that certain mysterious ideas are connected both with the clay vessels and the ornaments. As I have pointed out before, there is an interesting connection between a woman, who alone has to make the the clay vessels, and the earth and clay of which they are made. The clay vessel, according to the idea of the Indians, 'is a woman'. When we further consider the ceremonial character which the drinking of fermented and narcotic drinks assumes at the great feasts, we understand that a whole primitive 'philosophy' underlies both the making of clay vessels and their use."

1: Karsten--492-495 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789, 302 (1928-29)

"I further wish to draw attention to the Indian shields depicted on Plate XXV, 1. and 2. The first one, covered with all sorts of ornaments on the outside, is a unique piece of art, being a kind of shield which was used formerly and is nowadays encountered nowhere. In addition to the big snake-like rings, there are particularly two patterns which dominate: the pattern representing a human spirit on p. 494 (Fig. 20, f), and the small concentric circles with a point in the middle just described by me, and which in this case represent the giant serpent (pangi). The pangi may, in general, be said to be the special 'symbol' of the Jibaro warrior. When he goes out on a war expedition he also paints the characteristic black spots of the reptile on his face, and at the great victory-feast the same ornaments are stamped on his whole body and his arms by means of the instrument called payánga. Armed with a shield which is ornamented in the way described, the Jibaro warrior is believed to have terrible power and his mere appearance will inspire the enemy with fear.

The ornamental painting of the face and of the body has a similar magical significance, as ought to have appeared from previous state-[495]ments. In Fig. 18, a-d and in Fig. 19, a-e, we see all the different 'geometrical' ornaments with which the Jibaros are in the habit of painting the face. All of them, according to the Indians, denote snakes. Similarly in Fig, 20 all, except the figure of the jaguar (a), occur in the ornamental art. As to figures of human spirits (d, e, and f), the Indians not only apply them to the face,

to clay vessels, and to other belongings, but also to objects of nature. The only rock-engravings I came across during my travels in Western Amazonas were five human spirits engraved on a high barranca at the middle Rio Bobonaza. They had been done there by Indians from Canelos shortly before I went down the river in 1917, and my Indians were also able to tell me their history. A few years previously two hostile parties of rubber collectors had met at this very place in the river and engaged in a battle for the sake of the caoutchouc and their peons, and in that battle five of the men had been killed. The incident had made a deep impression upon the Indians who fancied that the spirits of the dead rubber collectors haunted the place. This was the reason why they had engraved figures of their spirits on the high rocky barranca. They evidently had the idea that in this way the dreaded ghosts could be kept at bay."

4: Up de Graff--266-267 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 789, 726

"Suddenly with a clap of thunder the promised storm broke on the scene. Here was everything that Tuhuimpui had predicted--one of those summer storms of great intensity but short duration which occur in the tropics alone. Once more the necromancer's spell had worked. Even as he had said, the wind raged and the rain fell in sheets to the accompaniment of the thunder and the vivid lightning. So great was the fury of the elements that we had to post a sentry outside our shelter to warn us of falling limbs. All around [267] the cave they came crashing down--any one of them enough to obliterate us and our puny cover.

In half an hour it had passed, and we were out again, uncovering the fire and restoring it to life while the dying wind swept the last drops of moisture from the forest roof. It had passed, but left behind in every Jívaro heart an undying faith in the prowess of their chief. Sure of their victory now, the savages bounded to the dance with redoubled energy, cavorting and pirouetting in a mad frenzy of hatred and battle-lust. All night long they kept it up, a pack of tireless demons. We on our part had no recourse but to sit with our rifles at hand and wait for dawn. Sleep had no charms for us while that waking delirium possessed the Indians, fanned to white-heat by the splendid augury of the storm.

It is useless for me to attempt an explanation of the prodigious success with which Tuhuimpui met that day. I cannot allow that it was merely a case of coincidence. The correctness in detail of his prognostications may suffice to confound that theory. No;

either he knew by some sixth sense which many animals possess that there was rain somewhere near (a thing almost unbelievable, since there was apparently no difference in the barometric conditions of that day and the preceding days) or else he was able to detect the coming of the rain by a minute observation of the movements of certain animals, or even insects, signs which would mean nothing to any but the most highly trained child of the woods."

28: Tessman--357 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 562, 756, 789

In the Aguaruna tribe only men can act as sorcerers. Their magic is monistic. The sorcerer is called ananténtšo or tuntsi. They do not believe in a separation of a being from its body. They have only one kind of sorcerer: the sorcerer who kills has at the same time healing faculties.

According to Karsten (The Religion, pp. 319 ff.), in the Chiwaro-Makas tribe an old sorcerer supervises the novice, putting in his mouth the spines of the Guilelma palm mixed with some saliva. It seems, however, that the novice receives the actual magic substance from the demon. This demon, in the shape of a giant snake or in the shape of some other serpentiform monster, appears before the entranced novice. The sorcerer must eat certain animals; others he must avoid--all this on account of certain analogous properties. The demon is said to hand the magic spines to the newly initiated. The derivation of the magic properties of a sorcerer is not quite clear to me. The leading sorcerer is remunerated for his services.

28: Tessman--358 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 789

What Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 318 ff.) has to say concerning the magic of the Chiwaro-Makas Indians is very interesting and very important. Preparations are necessary for this magic. Aside from the personal monistic magic, which I have described there is also a transmission of magic through animals. In this case, the sorcerer has handed over the spine to a certain animal, or as Karsten put it, "the sorcerer has allowed his soul to enter the animal." The expression "soul" evidently refers to the magic substance, part of which was perhaps given to the animal. Other forms of magic are: to shoot the spines (rays) out of the eyes at any time, even in daytime. (Originally, the evil eye idea!) Another form: to put the spines into the food and drink of the victim; to hang the spines in bundles somewhere in the proximity of the enemy, so that the latter would accidentally come in contact with them. Certain preventives are in use. Against the evil eye, for instance, they grind up a medicinal plant and smear it on to the body with Bixa red. Preventive measures are also taken with regard to certain places where spines may easily have been planted. For instance, the roof of old forest huts may be removed and replaced with a new one, so that the spines that may have been hidden in the old palm leaves have no chance to drop down on the sleeping person.

Demons are also able to carry out acts of magic by sending off spines.

Sorcerers, while still living, have the power to transform themselves into jaguars in order to approach other people with magic.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[9] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[18]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful *tsarutama*." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jívaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Piribri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jívaro proper. Karsten (1954:26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Piribri." Actually, *pirípiri* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jívaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pagi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jívaro deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jívaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jívaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125-26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nunúi*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:379).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:430) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nëkás wakanI and thus, since he uses the term wakanI alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanI.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 574 765 [231] [146] feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally, however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essentially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

231 [224] [241] At least one or two dogs are kept in most households. These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally important service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attacking party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *niawá*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

[726] [825]

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they receive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

[739] [276]

The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

[439]

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members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows:

> Don't suck the blood of my husband
> And also don't suck the blood of my daughter.
> When you want to suck blood,
> Suck the blood of my enemies.
> When my husband comes,
> He will look very beautiful and very clear.
> But when our enemies come,
> They will come very pale
> And in the form of demons.[4]
> And you will know
> Who will die,
> Who will die.
> And when they enter this garden,
> They will have their blood sucked.
> All, all I can call,
> Even the plantain itself.
> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in telling children why they should not play in the garden.

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on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

842 place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-
[789] sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemina-
[824] tion and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka,* or two and a half years, is required.

[836] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a
[848] child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

554 While the concept of the *untă* ideally encompasses all of
888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement receives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untă* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
[701] While the elderly *untă*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jívaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *muisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *muisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the *muisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *muisak* cannot see out," thereby

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *nuniak* emits power, but it is believed that the *nuniak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *nuniak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *nuniak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding; there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri kuru* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *nuniak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is